15: U.S. Navy --23 [6]
116, 563, 582, 609
636.58

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Fusion of ethnic groups. Special permission must be obtained from the government before a marriage between a Formosan-Chinese and a Japanese can be made legal. There are a few notable cases of marriages arranged between wealthy Formosan men and Japanese women, (as between a son of the wealthy Ko family in Taihoku, for instance, and the daughter of an impecunious Japanese nobleman). As a general rule the antipathy which one race holds for the other inhibits even casual sexual intercourse between the two. This, plus the fact that the Formosan-Chinese birth rate is much higher than that of the Japanese, precludes any hope for gradual fusion of the two peoples on the island."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [6] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 582, 177.58 Japanese
636.58

"There have been changes in such fundamental customs as betrothal and marriage under the impact of large-scale modernization programs and the realignment of social life to conform to Japanese ideas of colonial management."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 582, 584

"Marriage for both sexes comes early, usually before the age of twenty, and can take place only after a 'go-between' has brought each side to terms concerning dowry and wedding day. These go-betweens are sometimes friends of one family or the other, but most often are professional matchmakers who receive fees in cash or in presents to an amount commensurate with the wealth and social standing of the families concerned. Once a match has been agreed to, presents are exchanged formally and a preliminary betrothal contract is drawn up, giving data concerning the families and the pedigrees of each contracting party."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 582

"It is an iron-clad rule that persons from families with the same surname can not marry under any circumstance, no matter how clearly it may be evident that no blood connection exists."

587 586 Second marriages are usually looked down upon, but in order to perpetuate the family line a childless widow may marry again. Divorce, although the rate has been increasing in recent years because of financial difficulties and the growing independence of women, is not as serious a problem in Formosa as it is in the United States. Formosa's divorce rate in 1953 was as low as 0.45 per 1,000 population, as compared with a rate of 2.48 per 1,000 population in 1951 in the United States.[15] For good or ill, a popular adage that a virtuous woman does not marry twice is often repeated, and a divorcee rarely finds opportunity for a second marriage.

582 The average age at which men and women marry is reported to be rising. Among young men of urban areas, marriage is often delayed because of financial difficulties. The adoption of daughters often poses a social problem. 597 548 The old notion that a daughter may be bought or sold like a commodity remains among some uneducated people. Although the purpose of such adoptions may be that of securing a young companion or maintaining the family lines,

15. United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1953, New York, 1953, pp. 276-77.

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fortune. In contrast to the West, Chinese culture entertains no alternatives that offer serious competition to the "normal" family roles.

TABLE 59

PROPORTIONS OF TAIWANESE EVER-MARRIED, BY AGE AND SEX, 1905 TO 1935

Males and Females

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*
			Males			
10–14	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
15–19	10.2	5.7	6.3	5.3	7.3	5.7
20–24	45.7	40.1	42.8	44.7	51.6	49.8
25–29	77.4	72.9	76.5	78.2	82.9	83.1
30–34	89.4	88.1	88.6	89.7	91.3	91.9
35 and over	95.3	95.4	95.5	95.8	96.2	96.0
			Females			
10–14	2.3	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4
15–19	47.3	34.7	32.8	29.4	32.6	28.1
20–24	91.6	87.4	86.6	84.4	86.3	83.0
25–29	98.2	96.6	96.9	96.2	96.1	95.9
30–34	99.2	98.5	98.5	98.3	98.0	97.7
35 and over	99.7	99.5	99.4	99.3	99.3	99.0

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census. The "Informally Married," who in 1920 were shown as a subtotal of "Unmarried," have been reinstated here as "Married," in conformity with the census procedure at other dates.

There has been no indication from related spheres of activity already discussed that these pressures to marry were anything but constant and unyielding during Japanese rule in Taiwan. The percentages of Taiwanese over age 30 who eventually married remained about the same—all but one or two per cent of women, and all but nine or ten per cent of men. Yet the proportions of Taiwanese who had ever been married did not remain constant at all ages. The younger people of both sexes displayed some signs of altering the time when their marriage took place (see Table 59).

So far as this evidence is germane, however, it offers conflicting testimony: the pressures would appear to have been weakened for women under age 30 and to have grown stronger for men. Faced with this apparent inconsistency, we naturally cannot vouch for the inner motives of people about to marry. Nor can we adopt the usual

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course in demography and merely say that there was a trend for people in Taiwan to "marry earlier" or "marry later," for this is to say nothing about why men and women apparently were of different minds in the matter. But thanks to the assiduity of the Japanese in maintaining Taiwan's population statistics, the problem is open to closer examination with the help of additional data.

TABLE 60

SEX BALANCE OF TAIWANESE IN MARRIAGEABLE AGES

Males per 100 Females Enumerated in Ages 15–49 in Successive Censuses, 1905 to 1940

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*	*1940*
10–14	122	113	109	107	105	103	104
15–19	126	116	112	109	106	104	100
20–24	123	121	115	112	108	106	102
25–29	122	123	120	114	111	108	104
30–34	119	119	120	118	114	110	107
35–39	116	114	114	118	116	112	109
40–44	112	107	108	110	114	114	110
45–49	100	100	99	101	105	109	108
Total, 15–49	119	115	112	111	109	107	104

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census.

It is worth while first to consider the conditions of the marriage market in Taiwan, in terms of the relative supply of men and women available to marry. Since, practically speaking, the Taiwanese were a "closed population," this is one instance where demographic trends in births and deaths may be observed very simply in their bearing on the more complex aspects of behavior. We have already seen that the chances of surviving through infancy and childhood had been extremely poor for girls born before 1895, and that this handicap disappeared only gradually in later years. As a result, by the time they were nearing age 20—the range when most of them married—there were not enough women to furnish wives for the eligible men.

In 1905, for example, there were more than 20 "surplus" males for every 100 females in the age group 15-19, who could not find wives from the same age group, and would have difficulty in finding them from any younger groups of girls which had suffered similar high mortality (see Table 60). Apparently, as girls began to catch

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up with the boys in the chances of surviving in earlier life, they lost some of this advantage relative to men in marrying; and, as the scarcity of marriageable women became less of a factor conditioning the marriage opportunities for men and women, the result was that the chances of marrying at each age (under, say, 30) improved for men and declined for women.

TABLE 61
EXCESS OF MARRIED WOMEN IN TAIWAN, 1905-1935

	Married Men	*Married Women*	*Difference (2) – (1)*	*Males per 100 Females*
1905				
Taiwanese	594,827	598,556	3,729	99.4
Japanese	12,302	8,246	–4,056	149.2
Other	3,487	220	–3,267	1,585.0
Total	610,616	607,022	–3,594	100.6
1920				
Taiwanese	641,746	648,764	7,018	98.9
Japanese	37,377	32,946	–4,431	113.4
Other	7,427	2,270	–5,157	327.2
Total	686,550	683,980	–2,570	100.4
1935				
Taiwanese	913,655	924,963	11,308	98.8
Japanese	56,562	52,663	–3,899	107.4
Other	15,342	8,132	–7,210	188.7
Total	985,559	985,758	199	100.0

Sources: *Census of 1905, Detailed Tables*, Table 5; *Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix*, Appendix Table 26; *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 7. The category of "Married" as published in 1920 has been reconstituted so as to make it the same as that shown in the other censuses.

All this would be strictly true only if the Taiwanese population had been "closed" against marriage with other groups as completely as it was against migration. There were barriers to intermarriage, but in fact they were less effective. To some extent women enjoyed their felicitous marriage prospects because their nuptial horizons were not entirely restricted to Taiwanese men. Some of them married Mainland Chinese or even Japanese, which helped to enhance their scarcity. These mixed unions probably had a dubious legal status, for many of the male Japanese and Chinese nationals in Taiwan were little more than transients, and some who reported them-

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selves as married may have done so because of a wife at home. It is unknown how many supplemental unions of this sort with Taiwanese women there were. They were not legally registered as marriages where Japanese were involved, for prior to 1932 such marriages were prohibited by law.

The legal status of a union, however, did not make so much difference in the census figures on married persons, since the census was designed to record unregistered as well as "legal" marriages. In this it seems to have been successful, even for those that were not fully legitimized by law, and the census reports are therefore a fairly good source to detect whether or not mixed unions existed.[2] A brief summary of this information is given in Table 61. With monogamous mating and without intermarriage, there should have been equal numbers of Taiwanese married men and married women at any one moment.[3] Actually, every census showed an excess of women over men who were married: a proportion in the neighborhood of one per cent of Taiwanese women were "unmatched" in this sense.

But although some of these had undoubtedly become wives of Japanese or Chinese nationals, from the census materials there is no way of determining how widespread this intermarriage was. In the first place, Taiwanese men of wealth were said to take concubines, after the fashion of old-style Chinese gentry, and thereby may have accounted for some of the extra married women.[4] Also, from the Japanese (and Chinese) side, there is no way of knowing how many of these men were reported as married because of wives in Japan (or China), and how many because of wives among the Taiwanese.

Finally, a small though unknown number of Taiwanese men had found wives from women in the other nationality groups in the island, and these have the effect of cancelling some of the "excess" of married Taiwanese women.

These factors make the situation more complicated than it would

[2] The first census (1905) was an exception. Liaisons with Japanese men and Taiwanese women were explicitly not recognized, though such unions involving Mainland Chinese were. In all other censuses, the "informally married"—i.e., those whose marriages were not legally registered—were always shown separately, though sometimes included as a subtotal of "married" and sometimes as a subtotal of "single."

[3] Some Taiwanese men, by the time of the later censuses, were absent in Japan and elsewhere in the Empire, but they were too few to have any noticeable effect in these tabulations.

[4] By the same token, the sex imbalance of married Taiwanese cannot be said to be a measure of concubinage, because of the unknown amount of intermarriage. Neither of these two questions, both important, can be clarified beyond this indeterminate state of information.

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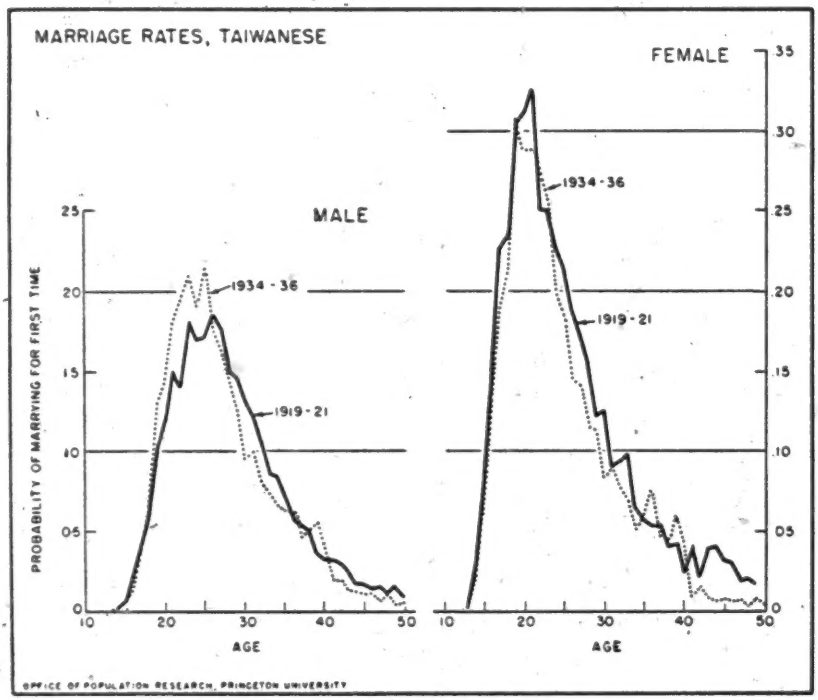

Fig. 31. Marriage Rates of Taiwanese. Probabilities of Marrying for First Time at Each Year of Age, 1919-21 and 1934-36. Males and Females.

be if Taiwanese alone were involved. Still, it is possible to get a more refined idea of the trends already observed by examining the age pattern of marrying that can be found among the Taiwanese. Marriage rates of moderate accuracy can be calculated, based on registered marriages with adjustments for those which were not registered.[5] But because the data on marital status were not published

[5] Marriage rates in this sense have been computed in the form of a "gross nuptiality table." In this form they are often termed "probabilities of marrying," which must first be computed as "probabilities of remaining single." They are exactly analogous to the "probabilities of dying" in a life table, in that they represent the proportion of persons entering each year of age who would have married during that age if none had died, according to the age pattern of the particular calendar year in question.

The rates given by such a table in its raw form are deficient; registered marriages in Taiwan were enough only to produce the number of "legally" married couples that were recorded in each census, but insufficient to have supplied all those whom the census found to be "actually" married (i.e., living together in socially recognized unions). This first set of marriage rates was therefore *adjusted* to bring it more nearly into accord with the facts as shown by the census. The adjustment was arrived at by calculating separately, from the census alone, a nuptiality table for "actually" married al

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582 162 in full detail at each census, there are just two occasions for which satisfactory marriage rates can be found—1920 and 1935. Marriage rates for these two dates are shown in Fig. 31, representing the marriages of three years averaged around the census year (i.e., 1919-21 and 1934-36).

The data of Fig. 31 pertain only to those being married for the first time, since the first marriage removes a person permanently from the unmarried. They show something less than the full extent of the changes in marriages that have already been demonstrated, for the shifting that appears in Fig. 31 is confined to half of the total period of observation. Already by 1920 women's extremely high chances of marrying before age 25 had begun to subside and those of men to rise. Even so, the persistence of this change is clearly evident in the latter half of the period. Marriage rates continued to move in opposite directions for men and for women after 1920 (though after 1920 it is less apparent for women). Taiwanese customs of marriage still allotted the better opportunities to women when young, concentrating these near age 20, while the high point in men's chances came three or four years later in life. Regardless of their differences in earlier adulthood (when most of the first marriages actually occurred), between 1920 and 1935 neither men nor women showed any tendency to defer marrying until after age 25—the rates of both sexes declined after age 30 and in the later 20's.

Widowhood and Divorce

162 589 Not everyone who marries stays married. In societies where mortality is relatively severe, large proportions of spouses are likely to be separated from their partners through death. Since the mortality of Taiwanese was higher for men than for women, wives were more likely to be bereaved than husbands, and there were more widows than widowers. While every census found substantial portions of people of both sexes who had once been married but whose husbands

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"legally" married persons; the ratio of the one to the other was used for "correcting" the rates based on registered (legal) marriages. This procedure leaves something to be desired; the most that can be said in its favor is that it converts into useful form data that would otherwise be useless.

The procedures of estimating nuptiality from census data were an adaptation of those discussed in Mortara, G. (1949). These figures might be suitable to use in place of the data that actually appear in the text, but for the fact that they reflect unduly the events of the census year, and thus give a poor indication of trend. The age pattern of unregistered marriages has no significance as such, for there was nothing to prevent unregistered marriages from being subsequently registered.

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TABLE 66

THE SHIFT TOWARD FIRST MARRIAGES IN TAIWAN

Persons Marrying for the First Time, Per 1,000 Total Marriages between Taiwanese, 1906-1943

Year	*Husbands*	*Wives*	*Both Husband and Wife Marrying for First Time*
1906	717	644	585
1910	754	685	629
1915	791	746	691
1920	776	746	684
1925	835	825	766
1930	858	854	797
1935	887	893	836
1940	896	907	851
1943	901	921	864

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 70.

united *both* partners for the first time. The remainder went toward restoring to married life the widowed and divorced, who were very numerous. Because so many people dropped out, marriage had become surprisingly inefficient as a way of perpetuating family lines, and a large-scale duplication of effort was regularly incurred by those who tried again.

As time went on, however, we have seen that the shortage of women of marriageable age began to disappear, death separated husbands and wives less frequently, and divorce gradually declined in its incidence. By 1940, marriages had become more lasting and less recidivous for both men and women. The margin by which the proportion of women marrying for the first time lagged behind that of men almost vanished, and as high as 85 per cent of all registered matches were first marriages for both husband and wife.

There were further implications of this shift away from remarriage. Other things being equal (such as the prestige or importance of the particular family connection), a match in which the opposite partner was being married for the first time would be preferred, by the family of either the bride or the groom, over one in which the partner had been divorced or widowed from a previous marriage. The Chinese do not impose on relatives of the deceased the obligation (which is binding in some societies) of marrying a widowed husband or wife; far less do they have any preference for divorced

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TABLE 67

RELATIVE RESTRICTION OF CHOICE IN MATES BY MEN AND WOMEN MARRYING FOR THE FIRST TIME

Per Cent of First Marriages in Each Year That Occurred with Divorced or Widowed Partners of the Opposite Sex. Taiwanese Only

Year	*Unmarried Men. Per Cent Marrying Divorced Wives or Widows*	*Unmarried Women. Per Cent Marrying Divorced Husbands or Widowers*
1906	18	9
1910	16	8
1915	13	7
1920	12	8
1925	8	7
1930	7	7
1935	6	6
1940	5	6
1943	4	6

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 70.

persons as candidates for marriage. When people marrying for the first time must take this less desirable latter alternative, it amounts to a restriction in marital choice, through circumstances of poverty or low prestige. We have already found that in their matrimonial position men in some ways were situated unfavorably, owing to the scarcity of eligible women. It is a reflection of this handicap that in the earlier years of registration a much larger proportion of Taiwanese men than women in their first marriage had to accept divorced wives or widows. In this matter of latitude of choice, the subsequent trends in marriage patterns can be summed up as a process of reducing the amount of restriction and equalizing this difference (see Table 67).

The prospects of widowed or divorced people in remarriage are of course the opposite sides of the same picture, since by Chinese cultural standards their position is expected to be unfavorable. Other things being equal, *their* most advantageous matches are with people previously unmarried. The situation being defined in this way, their chances are closely related to the trends in first marriages—so long as unmarried partners cannot be found for some persons marrying for the first time, these chances might be fairly high.

But it is also true that widowed and divorced people of both sexes

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PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

586 591 Evidently it is mistaken to consider divorce simply as a prerogative of the husband or his family, just because the Chinese believe that it ought to be. Several sources of friction can be found in Chinese family structure that might lead to divorce, but by their manifestations in Taiwan they point to the wife's side, and not the husband's, as having been responsible for its exceptionally high incidence. A great many of the divorces that were recorded must have been precipitated by the wife's family (if not by the wife herself), and it seems inescapable that their willingness to do so was governed largely by the opportunities to find another match for her. The patterns of marriage as well as divorce lend support to this conclusion.

The Reproductive Span of Married Life

162 582 One reason for giving attention to marriage is that it is the principal step by which people pass into adult familial roles, and thus embodies many of their ideas about the significance of these roles. It is also a matter of great interest in connection with reproductive behavior, since in all known societies some form of marriage establishes the approved social setting for bringing children into the world. From the standpoint of replacement of members in a population, however, the important thing is not simply when people first become married, but how much time they actually spend in married life. But because a particular marriage almost never lasts through the lifetime of both its immediate partners, the duration of married life cannot be precisely determined for Taiwanese. People are arriving and departing continually, and not all of them leave a sufficient trace in the sorts of demographic statistics that are usually available.

The most practical expedient for estimating the amount of time spent in marriage is to consider only those women of reproductive ages who are currently married at some particular time.[14] In Table 70 they are arranged as proportions of all women at these ages at census dates, confirming what has already been implied above—that many years were spent without their husbands by women who had been married, because widowhood and divorce were too prevalent to be cancelled out by remarriage. As women became older more of them became widows, but the percentages of women who dropped

[14] From the standpoint of demographic concepts, there is nothing inherently "better" about narrowing attention to women instead of men. The main reason for doing so here is that we have ways of estimating the fertility of women in Taiwan according to age, but not that of men. The choice of 15-49 as the age interval to use is dictated by convention, but in other populations it has been found to include nearly all cases of maternity.

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TABLE 70

PER CENT OF TAIWANESE WOMEN CURRENTLY MARRIED, BY AGE, AT VARIOUS CENSUS DATES

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Age	1905	1920	1935
15–19	45.9	32.0	27.7
20–24	88.3	83.5	81.2
25–29	92.5	91.6	92.8
30–34	89.0	89.8	92.4
35–39	81.2	84.7	89.3
40–44	68.8	75.8	82.8
45–49	55.9	63.2	74.2
Total, 15–49	75.7	72.2	74.1

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the respective censuses. "Married" in 1920 includes women whose marriages were not registered.

out of married life in this way declined sharply with the fall in mortality among husbands and in the frequency of divorce. Hence some of the time lost to young wives through later marriage was made up by others through prolonged survival of their husbands. One cannot say with certainty that the *net* result was a lengthening of married life for the women of Table 70.[18] But even if it had been, this lengthening might not make much of a contribution to the fertility of women in reproductive ages. It had most of its effect over age 35, when many women had already completed their childbearing.

When it comes to patterns of difference in marriage between groups of Taiwanese, there is not much to find. Little information

[18] There is no simple answer to the question of whether the time spent in marriage increased or not. Other things equal, the fact that women lived longer would result automatically in a lengthening of married life—fewer wives at these ages would die before their husbands. Similarly with longer life for husbands (and less divorce)—women would spend a greater *proportion* of their time married.

The case becomes complicated as soon as new generations of women entering the reproductive ages are included. These new groups of women were becoming larger every year, making the extra time that they spent awaiting marriage still greater, and offsetting some of the increase of the married among older women.

The balance of these effects at census dates is shown by the proportions of women married in the entire age group 15-49, which fell after 1905 and partially recovered later. But these do not give the only answer to the question, for there is no doubt that those women *already* married would stay married longer than women had before, owing largely to the reduction of mortality in the population. It makes a difference whether the question about years spent in marriage is put in terms of a particular group (or "cohort") of women at different times or different groups of women at some particular time. Although the first of these alternatives is really more pertinent to the other problems of interest, even an approximate answer makes extravagant demands for data, and the second form is the one in which related questions (such as local differences, in this chapter, and of fertility, in the next) must be phrased.

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exists to indicate the marrying habits of the people according to their occupations; and for the meager material that is available, the study of Taiwan's occupational data has shown that these can be relied upon only for men, whereas it is the women that interest us here.[16] A comparison can be made, in 1920, between the principal

TABLE 71

PER CENT OF TAIWANESE WOMEN MARRIED, 1920, BY AGE AND ANCESTRAL PLACE OF ORIGIN

Age	*Fukien Origin*	*Kwangtung Origin*	*Other Taiwanese**
15–19	31.9	31.1	37.3
20–24	84.2	81.1	76.2
25–29	92.0	91.3	83.6
30–34	89.9	90.8	84.1
35–39	84.5	86.5	82.6
40–44	75.0	80.0	75.7
45–49	61.8	70.4	66.9
Total, 15–49	72.1	72.9	70.8

* "Other Taiwanese" consisted almost entirely of non-Chinese members of aboriginal tribes in Taiwan.

Source: *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 2.
"Married" includes women whose marriages were not registered.

groups of Taiwanese according to place of origin. Those married among Chinese who traced their ancestry from Fukien, and those from Kwangtung, are listed separately in Table 71. Both had almost equal proportions of all their women 15-49 married in 1920. The group from Fukien, which comprised most of the population in Taiwan, apparently married somewhat earlier, but were more widowed in the higher reproductive ages. The women from families of Kwangtung origin, most of whom are descendants from the "Hakka" group in Taiwan, were married to a lesser extent while young, but were able to avoid widowhood until later in life.

It is not possible to find out definitely whether Kwangtung widows were more likely to remarry, or whether they simply had hardier husbands and became widows less often. Their smaller quota of widows can be partly explained away, however, by two facts: their

[16] The later census reports did not show this information at all. In 1920 a long and complicated table was devoted to cross-tabulation of occupation and marital status by age, and similarly for the census of 1905. But for the reason noted in the text they are not of much value in answering the questions raised here. Figures for registered marriages were published according to the occupation of each spouse, but for these and additional reasons these tables are practically useless.

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whole age pattern in marrying was a later one (and therefore probably made their husbands younger in relation to themselves); and most of them lived in Hsinchu Prefecture, which gave them and their husbands better chances of surviving. In view of these considerations, it seems that greater remarriage of widows probably was not very important in producing this difference.

The entry for "Other Taiwanese" in Table 71 gives some indication of the prevalence of marriage in those small groups of the island's aborigines who lived in the foothills and plains. Their women were distinguished from the Chinese by earlier marriage, and poorer chances both of marrying for the first time and of remarrying when widowed or divorced. They were a small group, however, and information about them probably tells nothing about the inhabitants of the interior, who were not enumerated in the census of 1920.

TABLE 72

PER CENT OF TAIWANESE WOMEN MARRIED

By Age, Inside and Outside Major Cities*

1925 and 1935

Age	1925		1935	
	Inside Cities	*Outside Cities*	*Inside Cities*	*Outside Cities*
15–19	24.4	29.4	23.9	28.3
20–24	73.3	83.5	73.8	82.4
25–29	85.9	93.5	87.3	93.7
30–34	87.2	92.7	87.6	93.1
35–39	83.4	88.3	84.6	90.1
40–44	74.8	80.1	78.6	83.5
45–49	63.0	68.9	69.1	75.0
Total, 15–49	67.0	73.0	69.4	74.9

* "Inside Cities" includes the nine cities of Municipal rank in 1935. The data for 1925 have been rearranged to conform to this rule.

Source: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables*, Table 3; *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 7.

Local conditions peculiar to different parts of Taiwan also produced a certain amount of variation in the extent of marriage by women. A clear-cut distinction of this sort is that which appears between the people in the major cities and those in the surrounding rural regions. When all the cities that were of Municipal rank in 1935 are grouped together, and then the remainder of the population collected in another group, the women in cities are found to have lagged behind the others by a considerable margin in getting

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married. The gap in proportions married was greatest for the young women in the age interval 20-24, narrowing with advancing age (see Table 72). The gap was similar and located at the same ages both in 1925 and 1935, suggesting that the cities probably shared with the rest of the island in the trend toward later marriage for women.

TABLE 73

VARIATION IN PROPORTIONS MARRIED

Per Cent of Women in the Ages 20–34 Currently Married By Prefecture, Inside and Outside Major Cities, 1925 and 1935 Taiwanese Only

Name of Prefecture	1925 Inside Cities	1925 Outside Cities	1935 Inside Cities	1935 Outside Cities	Name of City
Taipei		88.4		88.3	
	76.2		76.1		(Taipei)
	79.0		84.0		(Chilung)
Hsinchu		87.3		87.2	
	84.7		84.0		(Hsinchu)
Taichung		90.2		89.8	
	86.8		86.1		(Taichung)
	85.5		87.1		(Changhua)
Tainan		92.2		92.1	
	80.2		78.6		(Tainan)
	86.1		87.5		(Chiayi)
Kaohsiung		87.6		85.8	
	87.9		87.1		(Kaohsiung)
	87.1		85.7		(P'ingtung)
Taitung		80.4		83.7	
Hualien		84.0		87.8	
P'enghu Islands		84.6		84.7	
Total Island	81.6	89.3	82.2	89.0	

Source: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables*, Table 3; *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 7.

One cannot deny that there were better incentives or opportunities outside than inside the major cities for women to marry while very young. The extent of marriage among women in these cities is one of the principal features that set them off from the rural sections. But the sharpness of the difference is misleading, and gives an impression of contrast between country and city that is unwarranted. The notion of "urban" as distinct from agrarian conditions

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

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does not accurately characterize cities that are so little urbanized as those in Taiwan. Some of the difference in Table 72 comes, not from their distinctness as cities, but from the characteristics of people in their surrounding areas. It turns out that cities were less unlike the rural sections of the island when they are compared with those parts from which they drew many of their people (see Table 73). One city actually had a *higher* proportion of its women 20-34 married than the rest of the Prefecture in which it was located.

The case is similar when variation in the individual rural Districts that make up the remainder of the Prefectures (outside of the major cities) is taken into account. Most of it falls in the ages 15-19, which are not shown in Table 73. Even in the ages dealt with here these smaller civil divisions exhibited considerable differences in their marriage customs, which make it impossible to discern patterns of any consequence in the proportions married, as far as cities are concerned, that might denote change. Those places where women had a relatively late start in marrying were sometimes among the *highest* in proportions married by age 30; some of the early-marrying ones were among the lowest in those still married of their older women. But insofar as these local peculiarities represent differences in the way that marriage was regarded by the people, one common factor stands out in all of them—the variation seems to have been in scheduling *when* the women should marry, and not in fixing the proportion who eventually were found to be married.[17] The percentages of women married over age 30 were similar in all smaller civil divisions, both Municipalities and rural Districts. And so the principal result of their diversity may have been to make localities gain or lose in the time that their younger women spent in married life.[18]

[17] The local peculiarities seem also to have been firmly rooted in custom and not patterns of accidental variation, for they were fairly stable through time. The differences in proportions married repeated themselves: they were correlated with nothing else more strongly than with the same proportions at a later date, even though the women involved of course were different each time. Some idea of this stability can be gained by comparing 1925 and 1935 in Table 73, though the case is more impressive when all rural Districts are compared separately. Although it might be expected that young women with lower incidence of marriage would also have lower fertility, there is no indication that this was so in Taiwan to any marked degree, as we shall see in the next chapter. Part of the explanation is doubtless that the differences followed this pattern of local custom more than one of change.

[18] Local variations cannot be said to be linked to the same factors that were discussed above for the entire island. For example, families of young men seeking marriage might, if confronted by a local shortage of young women, arrange a match in a neighboring place. Moreover, the shortage itself might not be one revealed in the statistics, but merely one of families having eligible *surnames* (or sufficiently distant relationships). Chinese regard marriage between persons of the same family name as incestuous, and the residents of small communities often are nearly all of the same